

PEACE NEWS

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COMMENTARY

The Moral of Hurley's going

JOE STALIN, a sick man but still a shrewd one, is keeping his powder dry—as Bernard Shaw once advised him. His method, of course, is to cultivate catspaw governments in countries adjoining the USSR; encircling himself with friends before anybody else can encircle him with enemies. Imperialism?

Our guest commentator is
PIBWOB

Not necessarily; commonsense security provisions so long as the atom-bomb remains an Anglo-American secret, and an American possession.

Uncle Sham is doing very much the same thing in the "American hemisphere"—a geographical entity which shares the advantage with other fictions of being without precise definition. It is now being expanded to include Japan, although Argentina continues to be unco-operative.

With the two great land powers thus engaged in making themselves, rather than the world, safe for their own peculiar brands of democracy, Britain, whose sea power counts for little in an atomic age, is having a lonely struggle to make collective security a reality. Fully aware of the importance of being Ernest Bevin, our Foreign Secretary has good cause to be worried. Rightly, he sees his job to be the promotion of confidence between nations. And however black the outlook is, he is fortified with a real faith in the common people of the world. A man with a faith of this kind may succeed where the most skilful diplomatist would fail, but it is encouraging to note that Anthony Eden is taking the same world-wide view as Mr. Bevin.

The new Isolationism

THE tragedy is that there are no longer men with the imagination of Bevin and Eden at the head of affairs in the United States. Roosevelt and Wilkie are dead, and Henry Wallace has been silenced by administrative burdens. As a result, America is turning Isolationist once more. In a recent BBC talk from New York, Mr. Clifton Utley made it plain how little American support there is for a thoroughly internationalist policy. In London, where the United Nations Organization is now being framed, American delegates are very vocal. Emissaries from different big cities in the States have been trying to persuade UNO to make its home in their particular locality. But their motives are civic pride and civic ambition, not enthusiasm for the idea of collective security.

Gen. Hurley's resignation from his job as US ambassador to China was most significant. The General is anti-Communist. Even when Red China was playing an important part in the military struggle against Japan, he saw to it that American arms went only to Chiang Kai Shek's forces. Since the defeat of Japan, he has been backing up the Chungking Government in its Civil War against the Communists.

According to the *New Statesman* (Dec. 1), informed circles in America maintain that Chiang Kai Shek would not have dared substitute military action for negotiations with the Communists without support from Ameri-

(CONTINUED ON BACK PAGE)

DE GAULLE'S POLICY MAY DOOM THE WEST

Grave danger of total European collapse

BEHIND the ever-changing flow of events that make news are the two stark realities—the absolute collapse of Central Europe, and the entry into the world of the atomic bomb. These events are, both in their kind, incommensurable: but both are epoch-making. A new era of human history would begin with either (writes Observer).

Meanwhile, men go about their business ignoring both. In sober fact, I do much the same myself. I think, quite a lot, about them; write quite a lot. But, being utterly unable to relate my thinking to any immediately relevant action, I plunge very deliberately into the oblivion of my daily job—rather like the Doctor in Tchekov's play who found solace for his soul in planting trees. (I confess I plant trees myself.)

I am not surprised to see that Mr. H. G. Wells has come to the conclusion that the human mind is at the end of its tether, and that the human species will have to make way for another. It's the only conclusion warranted by the facts. Forty years ago Henry Adams said that "the human mind would have to jump"; and ever since the evidence has been accumulating that the human mind hasn't jumped.

A good deal of it, indeed, is engaged in jumping backwards: conspicuously, that part of it that is represented by General de Gaulle. I don't think the Russian sector of the human mind has done anything like such a big jump as it is commonly reputed to have done; nor the American. As for the British, it is, so to speak, trying to jump with one leg fastened to the wrong side of the chasm—it is a chasm that now has to be leaped.

This week, I am handing over to another commentator, who takes a different view from mine, and thinks things easier than I do (particularly in the case of Indonesia and India).

But here is the paragraph with which I intended to begin this week's

Commentary. It is an example of how the French sector of the human mind is jumping backwards.

THE action of the French government is obstinately blocking the way to a central organization of Germany as a short-sighted as it is reactionary. It bears the authentic impress of de Gaulle's narrow mind—so painfully reminiscent of Poincaré. President Truman's intimation that he will press for a revision of the Potsdam agreement so as to make a further exercise of the French veto impossible is welcome enough. If the abolition of a veto were not an awkward precedent, we might be reasonably sure that Russia would support the American proposal. For the French veto blocks the way to a final settlement of Russian reparations. The point to be remembered is that both USA and Russia want to get out of Germany as soon as they can; and for this they need some sort of central administration in Germany. Britain's motives are different: she has a positive interest in saving Germany from becoming an "economic slum."

Incidentally, the evidence about the French zone of occupation is disturbingly conflicting. While an article in *The Times* (Nov. 30) suggested that things were not too bad, General Eisenhower revealed in his report that in Saarbrücken (which is in the French zone) the theoretical ration of 1,150 calories was "consistently not reached." 1,150 calories means slow starvation.

A correspondent who has opportunity to know says

IT is too easily forgotten by many English pacifists that there was a German pacifist and anti-militarist movement whose courageous struggle against the tide of Naziism and nationalism continued right up to the time of Hitler's assumption of office in 1933.

The difficulties facing these brave men and women were such as would break the stoutest heart. Economic disorder, the increasingly impatient and unconciliatory mood of the people, and the complete absence of any encouragement from the Western Democracies presented the apostles of reason with an impossible task. Within a few days of the Nazis' triumph their leaders were arrested and the organization broken up. The story of the following years is familiar enough.

During this difficult period of the late twenties the German movement had a flourishing and highly respected weekly newspaper, known as "The Other Germany." Broadly similar to our own pre-war *Peace News* in size and content, it was almost the sole influential voice against the resurgence of militarism. The editor, Fritz Kuster, at all events, was deemed by the Nazis dangerous enough to be among the first on their list of elements to be liquidated. He was in prison within a few days of the last fatal General Election, and spent the next five and a half years in various concentration camps throughout Germany. After untiring exertions by his fiancée, English friends were able to secure his release a year before the war broke out.

I met Fritz Kuster the other day. His home in Hanover had been destroyed in an Allied air raid, and he

THE OTHER GERMANY IS STILL FRUSTRATED

and his wife were starting afresh in a dwelling they had been fortunate enough to find in another part of the town. In a little room, looking out across the terrible ruins of this once beautiful city, he and his wife had gathered some furniture together, and were recovering some few traces of the past: copies of their old pacifist publications; pacifist and Socialist books, the possession of which was for so long a criminal offence; photographs of those who had disappeared with the coming of Hitler.

Longing for news

They told me of their experiences in the past six years. Of how they longed for news of their comrades in other lands, of the perpetual fear of being arrested and of not living to see the better days which they so firmly believed would come: of their moments of horror when their child sometimes referred in public to things that "the Englishman on the radio" had said the night before. They suffered, physically, from the raids. But throughout this dark time they and many like them maintained their faith.

Such people, we must believe, are the hope of Germany. They represent the spark of sanity which has come through the most evil days their country has known. They had long prepared themselves for the responsibility which they knew would fall to them with the collapse of Nazism. They had planned to revive the newspaper and to work as never before for

'SAVE EUROPE NOW'

The Minister for Unawareness

SIR W. WAKEFIELD asked the Minister of Food if any machinery exists whereby persons desirous of relinquishing a proportion of their points in order to send food to the starving population of Europe are enabled to do so; and if not, will he make the necessary arrangements together with appropriate publicity.

SIR B. SMITH: The answer to both parts of the Question is "No, Sir."

MR. STOKES: Is my right hon. Friend aware that public opinion in this country is entirely opposed to the attitude which he is adopting; that a large meeting at the Albert Hall recently protested in favour of voluntary contributions? May I have an answer to that Question.

SIR B. SMITH: No, I am not aware of it. (*Hansard, Nov. 28.*)

... & Incompatibility

MR. STOKES asked the Financial Secretary to the Treasury whether he has now agreed to permit the sum of £250,000, raised by voluntary subscription, to be sent to Denmark, thereby enabling about 125,000 parcels of food, each capable of sustaining an adult person for two months, to be sent to starving people in Europe.

MR. GLENVIL HALL: No, Sir. All available food surpluses in Denmark have been allocated by the Anglo-American Combined Food Board according to the needs of the countries concerned, including France, Holland and Belgium and of BAOR, and my right hon. Friend the Minister of Food and I are agreed that it would be incompatible with those allocations to allow exchange to private organizations to buy and divert these surpluses. (*Nov. 26.*)

the cause of international understanding.

UNFORTUNATELY they have been somewhat disillusioned. They have found, for example, that the Nazis have retained their positions in the civil administration. In practice, therefore, it is almost as difficult to publish a pacifist pamphlet as it was two years ago (apart from the shortage of paper). And the British authorities, in turn, being interested only in maintaining an efficient administrative machine, regard anyone likely to cause, by his protests, a slight disruption in the machine, not as a helpful adviser but as a very unwelcome nuisance. Without paper for printing, balked at every turn by hostility on the one hand and by annoyance and lack of interest on the other, the German pacifists can do virtually nothing, at a time when their message is so urgently needed to fill the mental void which the collapse of the National Socialist faith has left.

I asked Fritz Kuster how he thought they would manage for food during the winter. And for fuel, as coal will be quite unobtainable. He and his wife were adamant. They would manage all right. On dry bread, if need be. But they and the German people could not manage without paper. Without paper there would be mental and spiritual starvation far more terrible than physical hunger. Somehow, the printed word must carry hope to the millions who live in the rubble and ruins of Germany.

That, I find, is the obsession of our German friends. They want the encouragement and the friendship of their fellow-pacifists abroad. But they know that the task of "re-educating" Germany is their task. They want the tools, and they want to pay for them. They are straining to get on with the job, frustrated as they are by the enormous difficulties which meet them on all sides. It is surely our responsibility to help them. Goodwill is the first step. Practical assistance is no less urgent a need. It is for us to find the means of giving it.

COMPLEXITY AND UNDERSTANDING

WERE it not for two substantial donations the *Peace News* Fund would be in a sorry condition this fortnight. One comes from the Loughton Group, and is largely composed of a gift from an anonymous reader who has just moved into the district: to whom we send our grateful thanks.

It is no more than a hazardous opinion; but I feel that the slackening of the stream of contributions which is felt no less at Head-

quarters than here is largely due to the sense that there is, in the actual world-situation, no clear line for pacifism to follow.

But it may well be that to try to understand the complexities of the universal crisis of humanity is the best we can do. It is surely a worthy end in itself. An understanding of the necessity of our frustration is the most certain way of passing beyond that condition.

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THE NEW FASCISM

IT is altogether premature to conclude, as many have done, that the political crisis in France is really over. De Gaulle has won the first round in what will be a dangerous struggle. What seems to be shaping itself is a significant conflict between his authoritarianism, supported by MRP, and a divided Left.

The difficult question to determine is what MRP really represents. The Economist (Dec. 1) declares that, like its counterparts in Hungary and Austria, "it includes resisters (in the limelight) and collaborators (in the wings)". Its description of this important aspect of post-war politics throughout Europe needs to be quoted.

"At the front of the anti-Fascist stage the Christian Democrats or Agrarians stand on the Right, the Communists on the Left and the Socialists in the Centre. The large mass of the ex-Nazis, ex-Fascists, ex-Vichyites and ex-collaborators of all sorts are in a sense the *pays réel*. Like the Resistance before them, they do not appear in the limelight. But they are a very real political factor. . . . They have political influence because they are entrenched in industry, in the civil service, in the Church, in the Army and the police. The machinery of public administration is, in a sense, the framework of their organization."

That amounts to a suggestion that a new version of Fascism is being prepared in Europe, and that it will once again be faced by a divided working-class movement.

This development has gone further in Italy, because Italy has been liberated longer. The prodigious success of the new weekly paper *Uomo Qualunque* ("The Ordinary Man") with its popular appeal to drop "purges" and parties, shows plainly how the wind is blowing. Naturally. For the fact, sedulously concealed by British war-time propaganda, is that authoritarianism was popular on the Continent. There was little substantial opposition to Mussolini's regime in Italy; very little to Hitler's in Germany; the great majority of the French collaborated.

Fascism, in short, was not at all what it was represented to be—a conspiracy of a few evil men; it was on the whole welcomed as a release from the stagnation produced by democracy that would not work, because it was paralyzed by the head-on conflict between the bourgeoisie and a divided working-class. No-one who realized the causes of Fascism imagined that it was an ephemeral thing, or is surprised that the pre-war pattern is repeating itself. "The Ordinary Man" on the continent prefers authoritarianism to democracy that won't work; and, I think, he prefers Fascism to Communism.

Here is visible the nemesis of British neutral isolationism and Communist violence and opportunism, and its essentially anti-democratic ethos. Communism has thriven for twenty years by discrediting, and working against Social Democracy: and now, more than ever, it follows the Russian lead in rejecting those things which are essential to democratic socialism—above all, a Western democratic federation. So, inevitably, it plays into the hands of a neo-Fascist like de Gaulle. Democracy can only be worked by peaceful and tolerant parties, in a society where the machine of state is really a neutral thing. English people do not understand how rare are such circumstances. Therefore they do not appreciate how difficult it is to establish (or re-establish) democracy in Europe.

The new Fascism may turn out to be different from the old; it will probably abandon its unnecessary dream of an anti-Bolshevik crusade, though it will be anti-Communist. And it may not win. Democracy may revive. But it certainly will not revive if Britain makes a hash of her experiment in democratic socialism.

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IT was not more than two years ago, when the true characteristics of fascism were being brought home for the first time to a good many of its former supporters, that we were hearing it confidently reiterated that pacifism could have no conceivable future for the intelligent or the politically relevant individual. I have a feeling that since the events of August last, we shall hear that remark with decreasing frequency.

The atomic bomb is not different in kind or in result from the other weapons and methods of war which characterise contemporary society, but it has sharpened and kindled the awareness of a large section of the public to the nature and historical consequences of those weapons and methods. The conclusions of anti-militarist thought have ceased to be personal theories—they have become the subject of normal street-discussion. It seems to me that the political pacifists are the only people who emerge from the present war vindicated wholly and in detail. Political prophets must be judged by the accuracy of their predictions—there is no other standard that one can reasonably apply. And the outcome of the second World War has confounded every one of its political advocates, and signally justified the predictions of its political opponents.

Allies' disgrace

The democratic Allies have disgraced themselves more completely in the sight of historical libertarianism than any coalition which ever uttered a pretension or broke a promise. They have debauched public opinion, they have reduced indiscriminate bombardment to an art in which one bomb can destroy more persons than passed in ten years through the Fascist prison camps—they have debased the currency of humanity to a level lower than that of the Fascists themselves, because they have debased it in the name of human liberation. Fascism was the conscious and voluntary adoption of an irrationalism which lies at the root of all irresponsible societies, and the practice of that irrationalism in the field of public ethics is no less

An Anarchist View

The political relevance
of pacifism
by ALEX COMFORT

inevitable because we choose to repudiate it. The savagery of the Japanese in their treatment of prisoners was less serious as a social phenomenon than the savagery of our own civilian massacres in Japan and Germany, for if the first was the ethical product of the zoo, the second was, like Maidenek and Belsen, the ethical product of the mental hospital.

The confusion of the war's progressive apologists was completed in the fact that the final and most cynical act of irresponsibility occurred in the Far Eastern War. To anti-militarists of all kinds the Western war was at least equivocal in its morality—the foulness of Fascism was not in dispute. But the war against Japan had not even the equivocal factor of an ideological background. It was an imperialist war without a single redeeming feature. The troops against which it was fought are now disarming recalcitrant populations in the combat zone. Yet this was the journey which we were to accept because along it lay the road to international amity, because the individual was powerless against the resources of the total state unless he was prepared to rely on military liberation, because even if we were walking on corpses we were walking to a responsible conception of statesmanship.

Every one of those predictions was false. We are confronted with a situation more menacing than that of 1938, with a Europe divided between mendacious and irresponsible gangs, with injustice which differs only from the injustice of the Nazis in that it is done in our name, with the knowledge that the conception of the repressive state must be fought over again, by those individual techniques and that individual disobedience which alone have succeeded in the war years in achieving results that were not self-cancelling. We have seen the collapse of the moral pretensions of this country, in the massacre of Europe's civilians, of America in the pronouncement of its tycoon-politicians and in the Atom Bomb, of Russia in the be-

trayal of libertarian Socialism which is dismaying even her warmest supporters. The historical vindication of the pacifist case could not be more complete under laboratory conditions.

It has been ably argued from these facts that since the accessions of technical power which the last 40 years have placed in the hands of the state, and the tremendous complexity of these resources, resistance to authority has ceased to be possible. George Orwell in particular has drawn attention to the relation between democratic ages and democratic weapons, easily-made and easily mastered, and fears a stable and irresistible system of tyrannies, founded on nuclear energy and atomic weapons. But it has been the contention of political pacifism that at the practical level war has long ceased to be effective as a revolutionary force, because of the concentration of power into the hands of the established powers.

Relative futility

Yet the essence of these new weapons is their lack of ideological character and their relative futility against individual recalcitrance. The record of the European resistance movements has proved abundantly that the weapons of authority against disobedience now are precisely what they were under Nebuchadnezzar or Nero—terrorism, propaganda, police repression, mass execution. In the presence of the atom-bomb no armed revolution can succeed. Yet the very complexity of these weapons and of the society which produces them makes that society more vulnerable to individual resistance than any which has gone before. Faced with the threat of modern war, the only community capable of resisting military force will be that which cannot be absorbed or overawed because of the individual disobedience of its members.

The political relevance of pacifism has never stood higher, if we wish it. It can forfeit that relevance only if it is betrayed into bartering acquiescence for toleration—into putting itself into prison and guarding itself as the price of individual exemption, as certain American pacifist bodies seem to have done. Political pacifism must move from objection, which is apolitic, into resistance—it is not enough to argue with tyranny for recognition, it must be steadily and honestly defied. The liberal tradition of Europe rests without exaggeration in the hands of those who are ready to resist war and conscription, and every invasion of the rights and responsibilities of man. We are the sole revolutionary movement which does not carry in itself the seeds of post-revolutionary tyranny. The PPU with its pledge of individual refusal may have made mistakes, and I have attacked in the past what I conceived to be its mistakes, but upon some such withdrawal of support, among minorities such as scientists or as a majority movement of resistance, depends the future defeat of barbarism everywhere.

LETTERS

Human realities

WE wish to associate ourselves with the views expressed by Reg Reynolds in his article: "The greatest of these" (Nov. 23). We consider that much of the so-called peace feeling in this country and even much so-called pacifism is extremely superficial. The widespread self-righteousness about the origins of the war: the attitude that we are not responsible for Europe's suffering because "we didn't begin it," not only shows a lack of knowledge of the facts but a terrible absence of imaginative sympathy. The fact that there has been no greater protest against the proposed extra Christmas rations points the same moral.

Politics is concerned with power and spoils. We must concern ourselves with human realities, beginning at home. President Truman has just expressed to Mr. Attlee his admiration of the wonderful continuity of British foreign policy. Could there be a more damning condemnation? Plus ça change, plus c'est la même chose.

HAROLD and ELIZABETH BING.
"Hollyside," Brockweir,
Nr. Chepstow, Mon.

Unsweetened observation

May I plead that Observer will not allow himself to be intimidated by the silly criticism directed against him. Recently he seems to have softened up in such a way as looks suspiciously like it. With due respect to the difficulty of satisfying the heterogeneous elements of "pacifism," there is surely no need to devote so much of the paper to the sentimentalists who want their politics sugar-coated. There are many of us who look to Observer and the Leader articles to give us the realistic comments and conclusions of a trained analytical mind. There seems to be no lack of Peace News writers who proffer "mother's milk" for those who want it, but it is sad to see a political commentary offering it. Observer's job, surely, is to show us that "constructive action" will be effective only when it coincides with a knowledge of factual conditions. Let us have the truth about politics. Observer, and those who don't like the "gloom" of realism, can remain in slumberland. Only sleepers dream!

FREDRICK LOHR.
170 Westbourne Terrace, W.2.

Russian bargain

In my opinion the defeat of Germany made the triumph of Russian Communism inevitable. The Parliamentary debate of Nov. 22 was an attempt to sweep back the seas. Nothing can be done now except to declare war on Russia, which is a physical impossibility for this country at least.

Therefore why not try to understand the new Colossus? Why not try to lighten the

blow? I approach the problem thus. I would try to strike a bargain with Russia in order to secure the Western block. In Observer's opinion there is no possible bargain. In other words, Russia is insatiable. If this is so, then Spengler was right, and the West is finished, but even against logic I would still hope.

Russia knows what she wants. She has sea-hunger, hence the Persian business. Britons talk about a United States of Europe, but this Xmas will have increased rations whilst Europe starves. We have high purposes, and our actions contradict them; and the real trouble is muddle-headed thinking here, amongst people who do not yet realise what sacrifices a United States of Europe would entail.

In my opinion those people are the real enemies. The Russians are the Nemesis that follows on muddled morality.

A. E. SOUTH.

107 Horton Grange Road,
Bradford, Yorks.

Observer writes: "I do not hold that there is no possible bargain with Russia; and I think such a bargain is extremely difficult so long as Russia refuses to state her terms."

Why not gas-chambers?

Would it not be more humane if the Allied Command in Central Europe were to erect a number of large gas-chambers and place hundreds of thousands of children in these—rather than let them die slowly and in a more painful fashion by hunger?

Assuming that they must die, of course! And as the possible available foodstocks—such as large quantities of cattle in Denmark and immense stocks in the USA—are being held back, we are driven to assume that there is little serious intention of saving these children.

Public opinion? But why should people object to the use of the more humane method?

DOCTOR.

(Name withheld.)

Insanity on the land

The naivete of Mr. Richards' remarks concerning the relief of COs at the prospect of release from land work suggests the role of contented farmer or happy convert. There are other categories of land workers. As one of these, I would suggest the following reasons for turning our backs to the land.

(1) That sincerity in advocating food relief is not to be judged by the manual labour of the advocate. Otherwise the Archbishop of York and Victor Gollancz would leave the Church and the Press and adapt themselves to swede-bashing.

(2) That the success of COs at land work has resulted from duty and determination rather than aptitude and suitability. The majority are unfitted mentally and physically for it, and their output is now becoming affected by the waste of spirit and sense of frustration.

(3) That there are other reconstructive needs, and a sense of proportion is necessary. My previous position was the result of five years full-time study. I can train a replacement for my present job in under a week.

(4) That the prospect of release offers an alternative to insanity. Perhaps this is peculiar to me—but I doubt it.

CEDRIC R. AUSTIN.

363 Hatfield Road, St. Albans.

(More letters on back page)

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HEART OF THINGS

WHEN the Development Secretary called on me to write this column he asked for a photograph to accompany it. I am rarely photographed—my shaving-mirror knows why—and all I could offer was a portrait taken ten years ago and judged not to fit the present requirements. This, I thought, was not altogether inappropriate; for the diagnosis I would make after my three months' work as London Area Organizer, is that many groups, many individual members, have not a sufficiently clear idea that what the PPU was trying to do a few years ago does not fit the situation now. In my judgment the prime task of our Union is to adapt itself—speedily—to the "new situation" which we all talk about glibly.

I feel that we in the London Area—and I hope our provincial friends will not object too violently to this—can and should make a particularly significant contribution to the job which the PPU has to tackle. This does not mean that we are a specially important area; it just means that we ought to shoulder a larger share of the responsibility.

And this for purely physical reasons—not spiritual ones: there is, alas, no indication that the spirit and faith of London Area is any greater than in other Areas. But we are, inevitably, more closely-linked with Headquarters; and London itself is the centre of Government and, rightly or wrongly, "the heart of things." In membership, too, we are the largest Area. It is for these reasons that it seems clear to me that we ought—only in the sense of work done—to take the lead.

The difficulty about this is that it acts both ways, and a failure would inevitably be as resounding as would a success. What I ask at this stage in my job is this: Is the London Area failing? The best answer I can honestly give is that I think it is doing so only in the same degree that the Union generally is failing—with the proviso that we may be worse only because we could be so much better. But on the whole I think we are stirring, and London Area may yet "set up a mark of everlasting light."

ROGER PAGE.

"I RENOUNCE WAR AND I WILL NEVER SUPPORT OR SANCTION ANOTHER."

This pledge, signed by each member, is the basis of the Peace Pledge Union.

Further information from: General Secretary, PPU, Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh St., London, W.C.1.

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One pacifist takes stock

by JOHN CHAPMAN

WHEN VJ day had come and gone and World-War No. 2 was finally over, I found myself preoccupied with two vital questions. They are simple, and many others beside pacifists are probably asking them; yet they are infinitely difficult to answer sincerely and decide honestly. The first is "What have I learned from my war-time experiences?" And the second is "How am I going to make use of that knowledge?"

They would have been insistent enough, in any case. But somehow the advent of the atom bomb seems to have given them fresh urgency—because a new chapter in human destiny is opening, to which each one of us must contribute, in however small a way. Before I plan my contribution, I must go back over the last chapter. It is easy to see that it was a sorry mess, and tempting to disclaim all responsibility for its authorship. But there was one sentence in that chapter which was my own work. Was it well or badly written? And can I do better next time?

FOUR LESSONS

In order to answer these questions I recall my position in 1939. I had been a pacifist then for eight years and an enthusiastic supporter of the PPU from its inception. I had signed petitions, joined in poster parades, sold literature, attended study circles, organized meetings. My pacifism was an absorbing hobby. Then came the war and after a year my job disappeared. The succeeding five years have been spent, for good or ill, in the milieu of pacifist community groups. What have those five years taught me?

First, that my pre-war pacifism was a shallow, incomplete doctrinaire theory which revealed its inadequacy as soon as it was put to a practical test. "Love in practice is a terrible thing compared with love in dreams" wrote Dostoevsky. The same applies to pacifism, as many who have experienced community life can testify.

Secondly, that my real task as a pacifist (hardly, as yet begun) is to discover and share with others a full and complete life which is basically sane and wholesome, and leads to harmony rather than discussion. So far my sincerest efforts have failed dismally; and until I can show some measure of achievement, I shall feel unfit to preach pacifism to others.

Thirdly, that one requirement of this "whole" life is the provision of free scope for the exercise of man's natural creativeness. Personal experience has shown me that unless I find fulfilment in creative work and service, I become the prey of demonic urges; when frustrated, the dark side of my nature asserts itself and has brought me to the brink of disintegration and self-destruction. This, I believe, is one aspect of the tragedy of 20th century man.

Fourthly—a personal confession—that I can find only one solid foundation on which to build my life, my work and my relationships with others: that is, belief in Jesus Christ, both the Man and His Gospel. The attempt to find an exclusively rational basis for human relationships has failed, as far as I am concerned. The solution, for me, lies at a much deeper level of consciousness where unity and charity are felt as a Faith rather than grasped at as a theory. Without the cleansing humility and the divine inspiration of the Spirit of Christ, I know that I shall be condemned to build endless Towers of Babel; and that way madness lies. Here is the other aspect of modern man's tragedy.

Such, in barest outline, are the lessons of

my war-time pacifism. Now for the second, and more difficult question: how am I going to act upon these conclusions?

To begin with, I shall need a period of withdrawal and reflection, to enable me to reorientate my mind, and to clear it of much lumber which still impedes decisive action. There must needs be a break with the past, both actual and symbolic, before I can set my face in a new direction; and I must digest the implications of past failures before I can begin to build again. But when that period is over, I shall try to find new associates with whom I can share a community life based on firmer and more endearing foundations. I have failed more than once already and shall probably fail again; but with every failure there comes a deeper insight into the secret of life and growth, and a stronger conviction of God's love and mercy. In the life and death of Christ lies the solution to our human perplexities: Christianity is, for me, the only possible answer to the atom-bomb.

DONALD PORT

Donald Port, National Development Officer, has left the staff of PPU. He informed the Development Committee in September of his intention to do this. The Committee accepted his resignation with extreme regret and recorded its deep appreciation of Donald's able and untiring work as Development Secretary and on behalf of the Movement in general.

He leaves with the goodwill of the staff and of the members of Development Committee, and with the good wishes of the many friends he has made in his travels and correspondence throughout the country. He has worked without reservation of his energy and resources and the PPU owes him a great deal not only for his service in the last two years on Head Office staff but for his former work for the London Area, and his voluntary work in between the two periods in office. It is gratifying to know that his leaving the Union's employment does not mean an end to his work for it, or any diminution in his concern for the things the Union stands for.

His resignation was offered for purely personal reasons and has no policy implications. He takes with him the best wishes of all his friends for his future progress and happiness.

F. D. D.

Dr. D. A. CROW

We regret to announce the death of Dr. D. A. Crow, of Hove. He was found dead in bed on November 3, having left a note for the Coroner saying that he could no longer endure his depression and had injected a strong dose of morphia into his system.

DR. CROW was active in the pacifist movement before the War, and won the respect and admiration of all who came in contact with him for his deep earnestness and understanding sympathy. He spoke at many meetings in Sussex and elsewhere and wrote "The Faith of a Pacifist Surgeon" (1938) and other books including a critical account of Soviet Russia following a visit there.

As a brilliant throat and ear specialist, he was very much overworked. So scrupulous was he about not profiting by the War, that he refused all fees for treatment given to men and women of the Services.

His sensitive nature felt the outbreak of hostilities keenly, and the apparent futility of the War undoubtedly contributed to his death. While maintaining, during the War, his faith in Pacifism, he did not feel he could continue active propaganda, but his witness for Peace will be long remembered by grateful members of the PPU and For in Sussex, who deplore the loss of a great man.

C. E. T.

WILLIAM HUNTER

The recent death of William Hunter, JP, at his home at Herne Hill, removes one of the most devoted and beloved men from the pacifist ranks. While, especially of later years his work in Lambeth, as councillor, alderman and mayor has absorbed most of his time and activity, Mr. Hunter's first loyalty was ever to the cause of International Peace.

One of the first members of the No Conscription Fellowship, the No More War Movement, the Peace Pledge Union and the Pacifist Church, Mr. Hunter served them all with untiring zeal and loyalty.

Who gives thanks?

UNRRA's operations are a "grinding to a standstill" because of lack of funds, Mr. Herbert H. Lehman, Director General of UNRRA, said today in a Thanksgiving Day broadcast address.

He stated that Congressional delay in authorizing the appropriation of £137,500,000, decided upon twenty months ago, "has added to the suffering of innocent war victims in Europe and Asia." The urgency was so great that half the amount would be used within a week after authorization.

He declared, however, that even with this appropriation UNRRA's activities would have to cease by the middle of next February unless Congress promptly

authorized the additional United States' contribution of £337,500,000 requested by President Truman.

"One ton of supplies shipped today will achieve immeasurably more than five tons shipped six months from now, after famine and disease have got out of control," Mr. Lehman added. "This month, the month in which we celebrate Thanksgiving in America, 10,000 people in Warsaw alone will die of starvation and disease. It is not pleasant as we sit down to our dinners to know that millions of disease-carrying rats are feeding on corpses lying beneath the uncleared ruins of Warsaw; not pleasant but tragically true."

—Associated Press, Nov. 22.

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS

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TERMS: Cash with order. 2d. per word, minimum 2s. 6d. (Box No. 6d. extra). Please don't send stamps in payment, except for odd pence. Maximum length: 50 words. Address for Box No. replies: Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

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We reserve the right to hold over advertisements and to limit the frequency of continuing advertisements.

ACCOMMODATION

ACMDTN. REQUIRED in N. London from Jan. 1 by C.O. Apply Box 216.

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ADVERTISER EMBARRASSED by condns. offers amazing values in brushes (supplied friendly manufacturer). 6in. white-wash brush 9s. 6d., 4in. 5s. 6d., Hair broom 9s. 6d., Cocoa 5s. 6d., Farmers' ex. large 7s. 11d., Carpet brush 4s. 6d. Cash with order. Over 10s. post free. s.a.c. list. D. Martin, Caravan, Farndon-fields, Newark, Notts.

TYPEWRITER FOR sale Yost No. 20, standard keyboard, tabulator. £15. Willson, 84 Rosebery Gdns., London, N.4.

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"BURLS." Cycle Makers, 797 Old Kent Rd., S.E.15. We have a variety of Ladies' and Gents' cycles from £9 17s. 4d. "Speciality" speedy frame repairs. Phone: New Cross 4129.

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WAR RESISTERS' International wd. welcome gifts of foreign stamps for subsequent sale on behalf of W.R.I. funds. Any such gifts received with gratitude. Pl. send to the War Resisters' International, 11 Abbey Rd., Enfield.

LITERATURE, &c.

"SATANIC HUNS and Red Saints?" asks Our Correspondent in Germany in "Un-Common Sense", 29. "Peace? You've Had It!" (Cyril Hughes). "What Price Victory?" (H. J. Dale). Constructive Political Commentary. Poetry (Ronald Mallone, Geoffrey Johnson). Illustrations. 4d. (postage 1d.). 30 Darby Rd., Oldbury. Or W. H. Smith's.

QUAKERISM. Information and literature respecting the Faith and Practice of the Religious Society of Friends, free on application to the Friends' Home Service Committee, Friends' House, Euston Rd., London, N.W.1.

MEETINGS, &c.

A CHRISTMAS Sale will be held at Toc H London Centre, Greek St., W.1, on Sat., Dec. 15 at 2.30 p.m. in aid of the I.V.S.P. London Group Foreign Service Appeal. Please send gifts to Pat Pearce, 34 Glenhurst Ave., N.W.5.

LONDON FORUM. Public Lecture. Melville Channing-Pearce on "The Universal Church." Alliance Hall, Palmer St., Westminster, Dec. 10, 7.30 p.m.

KINGSWAY HALL. Sat., Dec. 15 at 7. G. D. Cunningham (music by Bach, Liszt, Mozart, Widor, etc.), Vera Kantrovitch, Lilly Phillips, Jean Mackie (Brahms' Trio op. 87), Doris Mudge (piano) and Edith Lewin (soprano). Tickets 2s. unres.: Box office, Kingsway Hall, W.C.2. Proceeds to Social Work of W. London Mission.

NORTH LONDON'S great Open-air Rally "Avert Europe's Tragedy." Dr. Belden, Sybil Morrison, John Barclay. 3 p.m. This Sat., Spouters' Corner opp. Wood Green Underground.

CHRISTMAS SOCIAL, Bazaar and Concert following above, 6 p.m. Congregational Hall, Lordship Lane, nearby opp. Wood Green Underground. Dr. Belden, Runham Brown, John Barclay, Housman's Bookshop, Barnet Concert Party, etc. Everyone invited.

FREDRICK LOHR spks. every Fri. evening at 7.15, the Alliance Hall, Palmer St., Westminster.

PERSONAL

THE FELLOWSHIP of the Open Door welcome to a lovely old Cotswold house, guests seeking a solution to post-war problems. Finlayson, Steanbridge, Nr. Stroud. Tel.: Painswick 2312.

MAN AT present in Navy and stationed in Far East desires corres. with another man. View to forming friendship on his return to England probably in Jan. Write fully. Box 215.

CHRISTMAS PRESENTS? Why not make it a subscription to Peace News! Three months' trial for new readers only 2s. Send your greeting cards to be enclosed with first copy.

FRIENDSHIPS CONFIDENTIALLY formed. For parties, send s.a.e. to Friendship Bureau, 55 Lynwood Drive, Romford, Essex.

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SITUATIONS VACANT We cannot confirm satisfactory conditions of employment in all posts advertised. Applications in doubt are recommended to consult the Central Board for C.O.s, 6 Endsleigh St., W.C.1., which will often be able to give useful advice.

HIGH-CLASS Vegetarian Cafe requis. lady (C.O.) to assist waiting and sales. Deborah, 142, Frimley Rd., Camberley. (Phone: 891.)

WANTED. Woman and man for Christian Educational and Social work. Residential, long hours, hard work, small pay, interesting opportunities, international links. Apply: Lester, Kingsley Hall, Bow, E.3. Advance 2532.

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MISCELLANEOUS

READ THE BIBLE through in a year. The Open Bible, The Light of the World: A Tabernacle of the Sun in the Intellectual and Spiritual Spheres (Psalm 19). Tables by post 1d.—method of study profitable and interesting (20 mins. daily)—from Mr. Viner Hall, The Institute, Weston-super-Mare.

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ACCOUNTANT C.O. writes up traders bks.; attends to all Income Tax matters; company formation; audits and costing. Provincial clients visited without obligation. Box 96.

INSTITUTE PSYCHOLOGY, Kensington. Lectures every Tuesday, 7 p.m. Philosophy, genuine social introductions. Consultations all problems. Western 8935.

Commentary Contd.

ca, and that Hurley's policy has further endangered the relations of the USA and the USSR.

And now Gen. Hurley has gone because his Government refuses to take an even stronger line against the Reds. His going might have been the signal for a reconciliation between America and Russia in the Far East. But it was not. An equivocal policy has succeeded a hostile one. There is no sign of that frankness for which Mr. Bevin has called.

Anti-Communism and peace

THE career of General Hurley should be a warning to the pacifist. He is a man who has carried his disapproval of Communism to the point of provoking war. Pacifists also disapprove of Communism—none more strongly than I—but our job is to make peace. And making peace in the world today means making peace between Communist Russia and the anti-Communist West.

At the level of Power Politics Russia nowadays is probably "in the wrong" more often than not, and it is very easy to direct our surplus moral indignation towards Moscow over such dirty work as that now in progress in Persia. But when we consider the history of Power Politics, it is clear enough that any nation which plays this game is wrong at some time or other, and just because Britain's sins belong to the past and America's intimidation has been done with the greasy palm rather than the clenched fist, we are not really in a position to throw any stones.

The way to disarm Russia is to make her feel that she is safe. In other words, to disarm ourselves. I cannot see why we do not. In an atom war little England would certainly be blasted out of existence, while great America and great Russia alone would have a hope of survival. So we have a utilitarian as well as a moral reason for starting a disarmament race. If America and Russia did not follow our example, we should have lost nothing. If they did follow suit, then peace would at last be secure. Fifteen years ago Russia was ready for total disarmament; a bold stroke on Britain's part might bring her back to that frame of mind.

Imperial problems

IMPERIAL responsibilities suggest that some sort of police force is still needed, even if Britain did shed her armour of total war. British bayonets keep an uncertain peace between Zionist gangsters and Arab nationalists in Palestine, and between the political factions in Greece and Italy. But the sort of "peace" we are trying to uphold by military force in India and Indonesia is not worth having. The Indonesians want to be rid of the Dutch; there is no doubt that their own Republic has overwhelming popular support.

We should tell the Dutch to keep out of Indonesia, and perhaps offer them a share in the control of India as an alternative imperial employment. India is certainly too ticklish a problem for one Power to solve. I wish we could hand over India to a single representative nationalist movement, and withdraw. But the internal dissensions in India make this impossible. My feeling is that a United Nations Commission should be set up to police India until Congress and the Moslem League and the other parties can agree to a Constitutional formula.

Basis for Austria

MY disappointment, as a Socialist, in the failure of the Socialist Party to secure a majority vote in the Austrian election was mitigated by the observation that a sound basis for two-party democracy has emerged. Unlike the French, the Austrians have given scant attention to the Communists. The Catholics headed the poll with 86 seats; the Socialists won 76, the Communists four. In Austria the CP was not able to cash in on any Resistance glamour, and this accounts no doubt for their getting so few seats. A coalition Government has been formed, with excellent personnel. I know Austria better than most European countries, and I should like to see her lead Central Europe back to democracy. Czechoslovakia, in her present delirium of Hun-hating and witch-hunting, cannot be expected to restore her moral position for some time. Austria's chief burden at the moment is the presence

ARE THERE NOT 1,000 OFFERS FOR EUROPE'S DYING CHILDREN?

To the Editor

WE were indeed grateful for the space you kindly gave us in Peace News for our first appeal for Europe's dying children. We understand that the Service Secretary (6, Endsleigh Street, W.C.1) has had over 250 offers of hospitality during the last three weeks. May we now appeal again to your readers. We must have very many more offers before the Government can be approached, let alone feel really pressed by the rise of public feeling. Cannot we reach the 1,000 mark before Christmas, so that some message of hope can be brought to the desperate and despairing?

There are some 20,000 readers of PN. About 50,000 men in this country have registered a conscientious objection to taking part in a war between men and men. How many more must there be who have a conscientious objection to allowing children to die by the thousand and million this winter for reasons that could still be prevented!

Will every mother who reads this think it over just for two minutes while feeding her own child with a carefully prepared meal in a dry, warm room? Will every mother who by God's grace is able to do this try and imagine doing it out of doors, say on a seat in the garden in the wind and rain; and then again, sitting on the wet grass at the edge of some desolate and endless road? Really think it out in detail: how different it would be from a summer picnic! And in the evening stop to think again, while you tuck up your children warmly and safely in their cots and beds after another warm meal. Think of the mothers who have no beds to give their children after non-existent meals, nothing but the ditches, the woods, the open fields, night after night, praying only for an end to the agony of life. Think it out, and then do not wait, but write at once to the Service Secretary and say what you can spare. A quarter ration of this or that, some clothing, if possible a bed and some loving care for one of these little ones from the roads and ditches who otherwise will certainly die.

God, we may remember, knowing the human heart very well already twenty centuries ago, did not say: whatever you do in loving care for your own child is done for Me; but in

Our extra Christmas rations

The Immediate Issues Committee of the PPU is considering the extra Christmas rations which the Minister of Food has promised this country.

They have decided that this should be the occasion of action related to the present European food shortage. First, the additional food itself should be disposed of in a manner relevant to the European situation and our own inability to help; Second, in London, at least, a public demonstration drawing attention to our own fortunate position in comparison with that of our European neighbours, will be held. More specific advice will be offered in the near future.

Next week: our 6 page Xmas number

THE issue of Peace News to be published next Friday Dec. 14 will be our six-page Christmas number. It will contain special articles with the appropriate seasonal flavour, in addition to all our usual features, including the return of Observer's Commentary.

On the following week the Christmas Peace News pamphlet, entitled "Past and Present: a Miscellany for 1945" will be published. The price remains at one penny, plus postage, to all who do not already take this series with their Peace News.

of more than a million unnecessary soldiery from various nations. These armies divide the country between them, and eat up most that there is to eat in this poorest of poor countries. German-speaking Austria has never been a satisfactory economic unit, so however admirable her political system she will never prosper until we can build a Federal Europe.

His profound understanding of our hearts and to remind us, as it were, of an altogether better way of living, He said: whatever you do for one of the least of these is done for Me. Would it not perhaps be a great thing for us this first peace-time Christmas, while the whole world seems still spellbound under evil forces, to do some real good to God Himself?

MARK and IRMGARD FITZROY.

More "Save Europe Now" meetings

AS Christmas draws near public meetings are being planned all over the country by groups and committees associated with the "Save Europe Now" propaganda.

The next big meeting in London (following the recent Albert Hall demonstration) will be at Friends House, Euston, on Monday, December 17, at 7 p.m., when Dr. Alex Wood will take the chair, and the speakers will be Victor Gollancz and Vera Brittain. This meeting is sponsored by the London Area, PPU.

An emergency meeting will be held on Mon., Dec. 10, at 8 p.m. at King's Hall, Southall, to consider immediate action to avert a major disaster in Europe today.

The chair will be taken by the Bishop of Stepney, and the speakers will include Victor Gollancz and Roy Walker.

Leicester conference

Over 250 people at a Leicester conference convened by the National Peace Council and WEA held Nov. 24, under the title "The United Nations and World Peace", passed resolutions urging the Government "to consider further, as an urgent responsibility, the relief of human distress in Europe and to invite the governments concerned to join in effecting a plan for European reconstruction by pooling available resources and co-ordinating essential services" in the interest of all European peoples.

Britain was asked to declare her readiness, in face of the challenge of the atom-bomb, to join in a solemn renunciation of all war and in the development of a system of world government which would supersede the sovereign state.

OTHER LETTERS

Criminals of peace?

Does pacifism mean more than an intellectual way of life and disagreement with our more military minded fellows, Christianity more than organized religion, and has humanity an outward expression? If so, the whole of our energy, our resources and our will should be bent on this vital task of "Save Europe NOW."

Pacifists search your hearts and clear your minds. Peace News lay open the whole of your space these next few weeks for the consistent propaganda of "Save Europe NOW." Could you not insert a "cut-out form" for completion by those willing to give a warm corner by the fire, for some child whose pitiful eyes may well question WHY?

To Sir Ben Smith in particular and the Government generally I say: "NO Government has the moral right to refuse the willing subject an opportunity of a practical expression of his conscience. I go further—if we individually and collectively do not ACT NOW we stand self-convicted Criminals of Peace. In the building at Nuremberg I can see some empty places—they should be filled if we remain inactive."

By day and by night let the cry go out—
"SAVE EUROPE NOW." A. J. GOWING.
Newlands, Rearsby,
Leicestershire.

Housman's bookshop

In the course of the next few weeks many readers of Peace News will be buying books for Christmas presents, and I should like to suggest through the columns of Peace News that readers should buy these books through "Housman's."

During the past few years I have always found that the PPU Bookshop's promptness and efficiency in dealing with orders and enquiries has been matched by its readiness to meet one's needs.

This service and willingness to help I know to be continued from "Housman's," which I should therefore like to commend to readers of Peace News.
85 Castle Street, LEOPOLD HUGHMAN.
Cambridge.

WORDS OF PEACE - No. 152

The knowledge of good and evil was not an exclusive and sublime prerogative assigned to States or nations or majorities. When it had been defined and recognized as something divine in human nature, its action was to limit power by causing the sovereign voice within to be heard above the expressed will and settled custom of surrounding men. By that hypothesis the soul became more sacred than the State because it received light from above, as well as because its concerns are eternal and out of all proportion with the common interests of government. That is the root from which liberty of conscience was developed and all other liberty needed to confine the sphere of power, in order that it may not challenge the supremacy of that which is highest and best in man.

—Lord Acton.

Hanson Baldwin says 'Abolish' conscription.

HANSON BALDWIN, the New York Times military critic, has called, in that paper, for "immediate proposals for the world-wide abolition of conscription."

He argues that the atomic bomb "marked the end of the moral leadership of America," which could only be restored by "some action in the political and moral and psychological fields as dramatic and tremendous as the achievement of atomic fission." Other proposals he makes are for the world-wide limitation of national arms and for the outlawing of the atomic bomb. He concludes:

"We must make those efforts for the interest of man . . . to prevent reversion to the Dark Ages and the spiritual, mental, and political loss of all that our material progress has made possible."

PACIFIST CHURCH

The first annual meeting of the Movement for a Pacifist Church was held at King's Cross Mission on Oct. 27. Dr. A. D. Belden, presided.

Wallace Hancock, the secretary, reported a sustained and satisfactory increase in membership during the year, including an encouraging number of international correspondents. Meetings had been addressed in numerous parts of the country and a regular service for pacifists had been held in London. The meeting discussed ways and means of further developing the Movement and a number of valuable suggestions were referred to the committee for consideration.

The Message of Xmas, 1945, is "SAVE EUROPE-NOW!"

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VICTOR GOLLANCZ VERA BRITTAIN

will speak at
FRIENDS HOUSE, EUSTON
on Mon., Dec. 17th
at 7 p.m.
Chairman: Dr. Alex Wood

PPU London Area

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All seats numbered and reserved. Tickets from Dick Sheppard House; Peace News; and Nellie Harby, 74 Ingleton Rd., N.18

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